

LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO. 1241
Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

An Outline of United States History

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AN OUTLINE OF UNITED STATES HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

It is obvious that this Little Blue Book cannot hold all the details of the story of the origin and development of the United States of America. Neither, for that matter, can a set of ten huge volumes. In each case the historian must select that which is most important. One definite advantage is possible for us in a very brief outline: we can see the forest more clearly because the individual trees are not too fully defined.

There is little space here for image-breaking: what I consider comparatively unimportant is simply omitted. It is interesting to know if our old heroes always told the truth, chopped down cherry trees, went to church, sat up all night to read good books, and so on. But for our present purpose such matters are not essential. Nor have I felt it necessary to list all the men who have held high office in the republic. Some of them are not responsible for any considerable changes in national development.

In view of the fact that most readers of this outline will already possess some familiarity with the political history of the United States when they come to it, I lay particular stress upon industrial and economic factors. These are passed over lightly in most elementary courses. Recent events are discussed in some fullness.

My primary purpose is not to help students pass their examinations, but the use of the out-

line for such a purpose is certainly not illegitimate. I have not, however, packed it with dates. This Little Blue Book is chiefly intended for the person who remembers that Columbus discovered America in 1492, that the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, and that Washington was the "Father of his Country"; but who wants to find the connecting threads, not merely bits of patriotic flapdoodle.

In one respect all histories of the United States fail of completeness. They begin with the coming of the Europeans to America, whereas the immigrants, no matter from which country they came, already possessed a historic tradition. Because English has become the language of the United States and because the country was originally formed out of English colonies, there is good reason to maintain that the early history of North America is really the history of the British Isles. Magna Charta is important for the United States as well as for Great Britain. We have bicameral legislatures because the Parliament of England was early formed into two houses. Our customs and ideals owe little to the Red Indians, almost everything to Europe. Europe, in turn, owes much to Asia, where it is possible that the human race had its beginnings.

AMERICAN BEGINNINGS

The medieval wars against the Saracens made the people of western Europe familiar with the spices and other luxuries of the Orient. When the Turks captured Constantinople, in 1453, and threatened to cut off the usual trade

routes leading from Genoa and Venice to China and the East Indies, it appeared that the traders of Europe would be ruined. Under the leadership of Prince Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese sought new routes to the Indies. But it was not until 1497 that Vasco de Gama sailed around Africa and reached Calcutta.

Meanwhile a certain Cristoforo Colombo, a Genoese navigator, conceived the possibility that the Indies might be reached by a westward voyage. The idea that the world is round had been set forth many centuries before, but in the time of Colombo (or, as we Latinize his name, Columbus) it was not generally accepted, even by scholars. Columbus believed that the ocean touching Cathay (the Pacific) was the same one (the Atlantic) upon which a vessel might sail from Portugal or Spain. Very likely some Europeans (Scandinavians and perhaps Basques) had already reached the North American continent, but certainly their trips had led to no important results. The Portuguese refused to assist Columbus to set out an exploratory expedition. Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, anxious to enrich themselves and to spread the Holy Faith, finally aided him to fit out three tiny vessels. In 1492 he reached the West Indies, which he believed to be islands lying off the coast of China. On one of his later voyages, he reached the South American coast. But it was Amerigo Vespucci who proclaimed the fact that a new world had been discovered. The continents presently became known, after him, as America. Balboa, exploring the isthmus of Panama, discovered the

Pacific Ocean. Finally one of Magellan's ships succeeded in circumnavigating the world, and there could no longer be any doubt that the Americas are separated from Cathay by a great sea.

The Spanish soon began to colonize in the New World, starting with Haiti, then spreading into the other islands of the Caribbean Sea, Mexico, and Central America. Cortes conquered a people of some civilization, the Incas, in Mexico, and he was pleased to find a great deal of gold and silver. But rumors were afloat about a still richer country to the south. Pizarro found that the Peruvians were even more advanced than the **Aztecs** and that they had many treasures worth seizing. Gradually Spain occupied most of Central and South America, the principal exception being Brazil, which a bull of Pope Alexander VI assigned to Portugal.

The Spanish explorers and colonists, having found gold and silver south of the Rio Grande, were little interested in the rest of the northern continent. So far as they could learn, it offered neither an easy passage to India nor any great stores of precious stones and metals.

The French were not content to let the Spanish and the Portuguese divide the New World. Soon their fishing smacks were off the Newfoundland coast and their explorers were sailing along the edge of North America and up the St. Lawrence. There were a few attempts on the part of the French to settle in the southeastern portion of what is now the United States, but the more successful colonies were chiefly in the St. Lawrence region. The French

interested themselves chiefly in the fur trade. They established posts in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River.

In general, the French failed to strike root deeply in the new country. Except in Canada, agriculture was unimportant. The fur-bearing animals were gradually killed off, the Indians removed farther west, and the traders found it ever more difficult to earn a livelihood. Only those immigrants who laid out farms had any permanent interest in the country.

Two Venetians, father and son, whom we know under the name of John and Sebastian Cabot, explored the American coast between Cape Breton and Cape Hatteras for Henry VII of England and claimed the territory within for him. There was no immediate attempt to found colonies, however, since this northern land seemed to be devoid of gold mines. Adventurous Englishmen found it more profitable to seize gold from Spanish-American towns and treasure ships. Nealy a hundred years after the Cabots' explorations (toward the end of the sixteenth century) there were several unsuccessful attempts to found English colonies, associated with the names of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh.

The first permanent English settlement in our country was at Jamestown in Virginia, 1607. Though most of the settlers were "gentlemen" who considered it debasing to work and though Jamestown proved to be a very swampy and unhealthful place, the colony was kept together, chiefly through the efforts of Captain John Smith. After a brief period of commun-

ism, the settlers were given individual tracts of land. The cultivation of tobacco proved to be the most profitable occupation in Virginia. Land was very cheap, and great plantations were formed. The problem of securing sufficient labor was a difficult one. Servants were brought in, bound by contract to work for a certain term of years. Some of these were convicts, many were poor children, some were actually kidnapped by the agents of shipmasters. Many political offenders were sent to America, virtually as slaves. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, the importation of negro slaves into Virginia became important. They were never much in demand in the northern colonies, but they were found satisfactory for the extensive cultivation practiced in Virginia and the other colonies along the southern coast.

Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore as a refuge for Roman Catholics, who were being cruelly persecuted in England. Although the colony was proprietary (owned by Lord Baltimore), it enjoyed considerable rights of self-government. The House of Burgesses, founded in Virginia in 1619, was the first legislative body in America, judging at least by European standards. Maryland enjoyed considerable religious toleration, a law of 1649 forbidding the punishment of any Christian on account of his doctrinal beliefs. "While the Jew in proprietary Maryland," says Professor J. H. Hollander, "was, *de jure*, without civil rights, was denied freedom of residence, and was liable to punishment by death for the bare profession of his

faith, he was, *de facto*, permitted undisturbed domicile and was gradually allowed the exercise of certain undefined rights."

The colonies farther north were by no means so tolerant as this, although the New England settlers had themselves had to leave England on account of their religious beliefs. Plymouth was founded by Separatists in 1620, the Massachusetts colony by Puritans in 1630. But Roger Williams, a Salem minister, believed in freedom of worship. Being therefore considered a dangerous heretic, he fled and founded a new settlement at Providence. Connecticut and New Hampshire were also settled from Massachusetts.

The New Englanders lived mostly on small farms, and the labor problem was accordingly not troublesome. There was some trading with the Indians, the French Canadians, Virginia, and the West Indies.

The Dutch formed colonies in what is now the state of New York, and laid claim to the valleys of the Delaware and the Connecticut. The Swedes made a settlement on the Delaware, but later had to surrender to Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor. Against the English, however, the Dutch were not able to contend. The New Netherlands finally became an English colony.

The Puritan Revolution had the effect of checking British colonization in America, although it sent many Cavaliers to Virginia. The Restoration brought about a second colonizing period. The Carolinas were settled by a group of eight proprietors and Georgia was founded by James Oglethorpe, chiefly to give refuge to

prisoners for debt. New York became a proprietary colony under James, Duke of York, and a crown colony upon his accession to the throne. But New Jersey, which fell within his grant, he had previously sold to two other proprietors. William Penn, the son of a British Admiral and himself a Quaker leader, accepted a great tract of land in America in lieu of a royal debt which he inherited from his father. Pennsylvania was opened not only to Quakers but to all persons. Penn granted self-government and religious toleration to the settlers.

British influence spread inland little by little. It took considerable courage and much industry to go back into the forests, to cut down trees, build huts, and establish farms. Settlers in the back country usually were connected with the coast by navigable rivers. Roads worthy of the name were few in the early days. There were several highways in New England, but it was much more pleasant to travel and far less expensive to ship goods by water, where this was possible.

Due chiefly to the fault of the colonists themselves, the Indians proved troublesome neighbors. There were massacres and wars in great number, with the ultimate result that the Indians were largely exterminated or driven to a distance. The Quakers, of eastern Pennsylvania, since they treated the red men with kindness, found them not especially inclined to be hostile.

The English authorities felt that the colonies had been established chiefly for the benefit of the mother country. A law of 1621 forbade the

Virginians to export tobacco except to England and in English ships. The colonists would have found it more profitable to send their crop to other European countries. A law of 1651 provided that all American goods sent to Great Britain or any of her possessions should be carried in British ships. This had the effect of raising freight rates, but it also gave an impetus to shipbuilding in the American colonies.

Amendments added from time to time forbade the colonists to send a variety of articles directly to foreign countries. Cotton, indigo, various dyewoods, sugar, tobacco, and ginger had to be sent to Great Britain. At first these restrictions applied mainly to the British islands in the West Indies, except in the case of tobacco. But later molasses, rice, naval stores, copper, furs, whale fins, hides, iron, potash, and lumber were added to the list. Most goods imported from Europe had to come by way of England, where commissions and duties were collected. As a result of such restrictive legislation, smuggling became an important business in America. To quote Professor Katharine Coman: "In 1700 one-third of the trade at Boston and New York was in direct violation of the law. Royal governors and revenue officers protested in vain, for smuggling was upheld by public opinion, and some of the most reputable men of the colonies were engaged in this illicit business."

Most colonial farmers had to build their own houses, to do their own iron work, perhaps even to prepare leather and to make shoes for themselves. The housewives usually made soap,

candles, and various articles of clothing. Manufacturing developed slowly. The Woolen Act of 1699 forbade the colonists to send woolen goods from one colony into another or even from one town to another in the same colony. They were encouraged to buy cloth from England. Other laws crushed the hat-making industry and various other nascent manufactures. In the South, there was less industrial diversification than there was in New York and New England. Slave labor was better for simple agricultural tasks than for cloth-making and cabinet-work. Most manufactured goods were therefore imported from England.

On account of the abundance of iron ores in the colonies and the high freight rates on heavy goods, simple iron manufactures soon developed. Even in Virginia, there was some smelting and a little manufacturing of iron. England welcomed pig and bar iron from the colonies, but presently put a stop to all local manufacturing. It was desired that America should furnish the raw materials, but that the fabricating should be restricted to the mother country. Bounties were offered on hemp, mast timber, tar and pitch, rosin and turpentine, and later on indigo as well. The Carolinas were favorably affected by this legislation, but it did not help the northern colonies.

Exchange in the colonies was carried on principally through the barter of commodities. There was some English money in circulation as well as gold and silver coins from other countries. A little silver was coined in America; and some of the colonies issued paper

money, simple promises to pay which soon depreciated in value.

In New England, where most of the settlers lived on small farms clustered about villages (some of which, to be sure, consisted of little more than a church), the chief unit of local government was the township. At the annual town meeting, various local officials as well as the representatives sent to the colonial legislature were chosen. In the southern colonies, the county became the important unit. The county officials were usually appointed by the governor of the colony. In the middle colonies, the functions of local government were divided between town and county. The officials were elective.

Each legislature, except in Pennsylvania, was bicameral. Since there was no special American nobility, the members of the upper house were in most cases appointed by the various governors, subject to royal approval. On the eve of the Revolution, eight of the American colonies had royal governors. These represented the King of England and possessed, during the term of office, the same powers which he had in the mother country. But the governors were actually bound by instructions and restrained also by the ability of the legislature to refuse grants of money. In Rhode Island and Connecticut, the governor was annually elected and he was little more than a figurehead. Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were controlled by proprietors, who were practically feudal princes. But the legislatures

gradually increased their power in these colonies.

Every colony had a representative assembly (or lower house of the legislature) chosen by popular vote. Comparatively few of the adult males possessed the franchise, however, for there were property qualifications. In Philadelphia, only one out of fifty inhabitants was entitled to suffrage. Nowhere do potential voters seem to have numbered more than one-sixth of the inhabitants. Legislators usually were required to show that they owned a large amount of property—in New Jersey, one thousand acres—and in some cases they had to satisfy religious tests. The principle of equal representation was hardly recognized, and thinly-populated towns or parishes frequently elected as many colonial legislators as the thickly-inhabited ones.

Social equality did not exist in any of the colonies. The upper class consisted in New England of the clergy and other professional men, merchants, and land-owners, in the middle colonies of the landed proprietors and merchants, in the South of the great slave-holding planters. Important, especially in the North, was a middle class, consisting of traders, small shopkeepers and farmers. There were many slaves in the South, comparatively few in New England and the middle colonies. Indentured servants were also numerous, and they were sometimes brought in to work the mines or for some other industrial purpose. Religious liberty was slow to develop in most of the colonies and

Catholics and Jews were usually disfranchised. There was little talk about liberty and still less about democracy.

Most numerous and most influential among the colonists were those of English birth or descent. The Dutch, the Swedes, the Germans, the Scotch-Irish, the French Protestants (Huguenots) the Welsh, Scotch, and Catholic Irish settlers were also important. All brought with them their own prejudices and superstitions and traditions. But the institutions of England were chiefly adopted, or, it would be more accurate to say, adapted to the new conditions with certain modifications suggested by the social and political practices of the other countries from which the immigrants came.

The wars between England and France were carried on simultaneously in Europe and America. By the peace of Utrecht (1713) England gained Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. The French and Indian War (1754-1763) was the American phase of the Seven Years' War, which did not break out in Europe until 1756, however. In America, hostilities began in a dispute about the possession of the Ohio valley. The English built a fort where the city of Pittsburgh is now located, but the French captured it. A Virginian named George Washington gained military experience but did not greatly distinguish himself in the subsequent campaign. General Braddock arrived with a regular army which was nearly annihilated. The European style of warfare was certainly not suited to the backwoods. Montcalm proved to be a valuable commander for

the French and Indian allies, and the English prospects appeared dark. But Montcalm was defeated by Wolfe in a famous battle in which both generals were wounded, and the English captured Quebec. Presently they overran New France. By the Treaty of Paris, France ceded to England all her land in North America east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans. That city and the French possessions west of the Mississippi went to Spain.

The French and Indian War is important in that it insured the domination of the eastern portion of North America by English-speaking people. Also it gave many of the colonists military training and it forced the colonies to learn to work for a common purpose. The first attempt to bring the colonies together had been the New England Confederation (1643-1685) among Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven. These joined together in pairs, but the confederation itself had practically no permanent result. The Albany Congress of 1754 was brought about by the war. Franklin prepared a plan for the joining of the colonies, but it satisfied neither the colonists nor the king. It still seemed that the colonies had individual interests, and the need for union did not appear great.

THE FOUNDING OF THE UNION

Especially during the latter part of the Colonial period, there were many quarrels between the settlers and the governors. These were usually matters of local privilege and special

rights rather than of fundamental principles. But they served, nevertheless, to prepare the way for a break with the mother country.

When George III, a youth of twenty-two, with little experience or education, came to the English throne in 1760, he had more ambition to rule than his two immediate predecessors had shown. He felt himself to be an English rather than a Hanoverian monarch. George eagerly supported the idea that the colonies should pay part of the cost of imperial defense. By outbribing the Whigs and by splitting up their party, the "kings' friends" came to the head of affairs. Grenville, who became prime minister in 1763, determined to enforce the Navigation Laws in America. Numerous search warrants of doubtful legality were issued and naval ships were stationed off the American coast to prevent smuggling.

A standing army was sent into the colonies, and it was proposed that Parliament should levy a tax upon the colonists for their support. The Americans, fearing that the soldiers might be used to repress rather than to defend them, and by no means anxious to pay higher taxes, approved the cry that taxation without representation is tyranny. They sent no members to Parliament. It was contended, on the other hand, that every member of the House of Commons represents the whole British Empire and all its inhabitants.

When the law laying duties on molasses brought in to the colonies from the French and Spanish West Indies was actually enforced, it seemed that the fisheries of New England

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would be ruined, for practically all the pickled and much of the salt fish was exchanged in the West Indies for molasses. The drastic measures which were applied to check smuggling brought about serious friction.

Since the Sugar Act proved to be unsatisfactory in producing revenue, recourse was had to taxes collectable by means of stamps. These had to be affixed to various sorts of legal papers, newspapers, pamphlets, books, and playing cards. But the colonists liked the Stamp Act not at all. Despite the severe penalties provided in the law, it was generally disobeyed. The stamp distributor in Boston was forced to resign, the stamp office was destroyed, and the home of the lieutenant governor was burnt by way of protest. Patrick Henry made a speech, since become famous, before the legislature of Virginia in favor of the resolution "That the General Assembly of this colony have the sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon inhabitants of this colony." This declaration was passed, and similar protests arose in the other colonies. Nine of them sent delegates to a Stamp Act Congress which met in New York in 1765. This body also asserted that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies. It accomplished little that was definite, but it served to express and to increase the idea of American solidarity.

Many merchants, especially in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, signed an agreement to import no English goods until the Stamp Act should be repealed. Attempts to increase American manufacturing were vigorously en

couraged. The result was that English manufacturers and carriers suffered considerably and therefore threw their weight against the Stamp Act. After a hot debate, the obnoxious law was repealed in 1766.

But the "king's friends" insisted that the right of Parliament to impose taxes upon the colonies should not be abandoned. A law was passed asserting this right, and new taxes were levied a few years later. The Townshend Acts levied duties on paper, painters' goods, and various luxuries imported into the provinces. Moreover, the revenue was to be applied to the payment of the royal officers in the colonies, so that they might be independent of the legislatures. Soldiers were to be housed by the colonists, and the search warrants (Writs of Assistance) intended to prevent smuggling were declared legal.

Again the colonists were aroused. There were vigorous protests, and some of the circulars and pamphlets which were circulated looked treasonable to the royal party in England. The suggestion was made that the American leaders should be brought to England for trial. New agreements were made not to import British goods, and again the boycott forced the repeal of the hated legislation. But, as a matter of principle, Parliament retained the duty on tea. Tea had for the most part been smuggled in from Holland or China. Now the British East India Company was allowed to bring tea to the colonies without paying any tax in England. Thus it was possible for Americans to buy tea which was

brought in legitimately and had paid the colonial tax of three pence a pound at a lower rate than the smuggled article. But the colonists understood that to pay the tax would mean to admit the Parliamentary right of taxation and to be exposed to more onerous burdens later. Again the protests took the form of violence, most strikingly at Boston. As a result, the port of Boston was closed. Since the province of Quebec appeared to be more loyal than the colonies farther south, its boundaries were extended to include much territory which they claimed. There were other punitive laws, all considered intolerable by the colonists.

The provinces were brought together by a common sympathy for the unhappy city of Boston. A third boycott against England was projected, but it was opposed by the merchants of Philadelphia and New York, who could not but lose by it. All the thirteen colonies, with the exception of the weak province of Georgia, sent delegates to a congress which met at Philadelphia in 1774. This First Continental Congress adopted a Declaration of Rights denying the right of Parliament to levy taxes upon the colonists and also formed an association to secure a complete embargo against English goods and those upon which English taxes had been paid. English imports in 1775 were less than a tenth the value of those in 1774. Yet George and his ministers refused to give up the right of taxation. Instead they passed other oppressive laws and sent additional troops to America.

Many of the colonial leaders were forced to realize that there was a gradual drift toward war. Massachusetts and then other colonies began to arm and train their militias. An attempt to arrest two patriot leaders in Massachusetts, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, led to minor skirmishes between the militiamen and British soldiers at Lexington and Concord. Soon the men of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut came up to join their fellows in Massachusetts. The British soldiers at Boston found themselves beleaguered by 16,000 men, not very well trained, perhaps, but in deadly earnest.

News spread somewhat slowly through the colonies, but it was not long before the people of Kentucky and Georgia knew that the war had begun. The Second Continental Congress, which met at Philadelphia in May, 1775, did not delay in recognizing the fact. It considered ways and means of providing the army, and it appointed George Washington, a Virginia gentleman, commander.

The British drove the American troops from Bunker Hill, overlooking Boston, but at a great cost in men. Washington presently reached his army and spent some time in drilling and training it. When he occupied Dorchester Heights, however, the British troops abandoned New England, sailing away to Halifax. Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold invaded Canada, but the inhabitants were mostly hostile, and they were finally driven out.

After a year of war, the thirteen colonies were receptive to the idea of independence.

Richard Henry Lee moved in June, 1776, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." The Declaration of Independence, written chiefly by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted by the Continental Congress in July, 1776. It is certain that many of the delegates did not altogether believe in his "self-evident truths" about the equality of men and the consent of the governed, but they did believe that the colonies should be independent, and accordingly they subscribed their names to the document.

Not all the American colonists, indeed, desired independence. There was an important party of loyalists, or, as they were called, Tories. Thousands of Americans joined the British forces. Thus the conflict assumed some of the aspects of a civil war. Meanwhile there was no strong central authority. The Continental Congress had little definite authority, and it represented the rebels rather than the whole American people.

England was slow to act, for the idea that the colonies might possibly win their independence was hardly considered to lie within the realm of reason. How could the American provinces contend against wealthy and powerful Britain? But finally 30,000 men, British regulars and soldiers hired from German princelings, were sent to occupy New York. Washington was compelled to fall back before them, and the hour seemed dark for the cause of independence. But a victory at Trenton brought reinforcements to his army and new courage. The British planned to occupy the

line of the Hudson, Howe moving from New York and Burgoyne from Canada. But Howe occupied Philadelphia instead, and Burgoyne's army surrendered to Gates at Saratoga, October, 1777. Washington's army, wintering at Valley Forge, not far from Philadelphia, suffered greatly from hunger and cold. But Baron von Steuben, a Prussian officer, came to the aid of the American army and proved to be an excellent drillmaster. More important still, cheering news of a French alliance arrived. Franklin, after the victory at Saratoga, persuaded France that it was time for her to strike a blow at her old enemy. Without the aid of France, it is exceedingly doubtful if the Americans could have won the war. Spain and the Netherlands later joined the United States; and other European countries maintained an armed neutrality, hostile to England.

Even before France declared war against the British, it secretly sent money, arms and supplies to America. The Marquis de la Fayette and other French officers came to help the American army. French recognition of the United States frightened England, and conciliatory proposals were made. But it was too late.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the coast cities were utterly at the mercy of the British fleet. Fortifications were erected, however, and the Continental Congress authorized privately-owned vessels to prey upon English commerce. The first steps toward the formation of an American navy were taken, but it was chiefly the French fleet that bore the burden of the naval war.

The British armies in America, after the attempt to split up the colonies by occupying the Hudson River had failed, were sent south. It was felt that the Carolinas and Georgia were least able to offer a defense. When General Lincoln's army surrendered at Charleston, the British were enabled to overrun the southern states. But in 1780 Greene forced Cornwallis to retreat into Virginia, though British detachments still held Savannah and Charleston. Cornwallis went into camp at Yorktown, on the Virginia coast. A strong French fleet drove away the British ships upon which Cornwallis depended for supplies. Washington's army, together with Rochambeau's French army, closed in on Cornwallis and forced him to surrender, in October, 1781. The British leaders were tired of the war, and the "king's friends" were no longer powerful enough to keep it up. By the Treaty of Paris, 1783, the independence of the United States was recognized. Canada remained British, but the lands south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi went to the United States. Florida and the great Louisiana territory went to Spain.

During the Revolutionary War, since it appeared that the Americans were not fond of paying taxes, recourse was had to the issuance of bills of credit, vague promises to pay Spanish dollars at an unspecified time and place. Government loans were not very eagerly taken up. The property of British sympathizers was confiscated. Several of the states supplied military supplies, and other necessities were

forcibly seized and paid for in paper money. The currency depreciated rapidly in value. It was never redeemed at face value.

The colonies had been accustomed to trading chiefly with England, and the navigation laws had given them certain advantages which were no longer theirs after the states secured their independence. It was difficult for the United States to negotiate advantageous trade treaties so long as the thirteen states were really separate. Interstate commerce was subjected to customs duties, and there were many disputes over jurisdiction.

The war stimulated American manufacturing even if it injured the merchants and shipmasters. Although the withdrawal of British bounties injured certain southern agricultural interests, the abolition of feudal privileges which the war brought about did more to help the farming classes. The Ohio Valley was rapidly occupied during and after the war. The British, who had retained the territory for the benefit of the fur trade, incited the Indians to attack the new settlers. But the latter knew how to defend themselves, and soon the country was considered safe. Hundreds of thousands of people established themselves west of the Appalachian range before 1800. Land was cheap, and though the pioneers found many difficulties in their way, the fertility of the soil well repaid them.

In July, 1775, before independence was formally declared, Dr. Benjamin Franklin submitted to the Continental Congress a plan for confederation. But the colonies (and then the

states) were somewhat jealous of their own rights. The small states wished each state to have an equal vote, the large states wished special consideration for great population and wealth. The idea of state equality prevailed. It was not until 1781 that Maryland, last of the thirteen states to approve them, accepted the Articles of Confederation.

The Confederation had no judicial and practically no executive power. Congress was authorized to settle disputes between the states, however. But the weakness of this loose union was soon apparent. Meanwhile state governments were formed, usually under the authority of new constitutions. It seems that these were in general drawn up by a minority—those persons of the middle and higher classes who favored the Revolution.

Most of the leaders in the revolt had somewhat radical ideas. Some of them, as we have seen, believed that "all men are created equal." Jefferson and some others expressed ideas very close to anarchism. To Jefferson it seemed that newspapers are more important than government. When the war was won, however, the solid men of property were more respected than the radicals.

They found the loose confederacy defective in several respects. It could not pay even the interest on the national debt, for it was dependent upon the state legislature for funds. Less than a quarter of the requisitions laid on the states by Congress between November, 1781, and January, 1786, were paid. The states regulated commerce each in its own way, and Con-

gress was unable to prevent interstate commercial wars. The monetary system was confused. Public order was unsafe. Congress had no way of enforcing its laws. In short, the situation was intolerable, especially to the substantial business men.

Alexander Hamilton of New York led in the agitation for a strong union. In 1786 a convention assembled at Annapolis, in response to an invitation from Virginia, to consider the wider aspects of commercial regulation. Since only five states were represented, however, Hamilton secured the adoption of a resolution providing for a new convention to meet at Philadelphia the next year for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation. Congress approved this resolution.

All the states except Rhode Island were represented at the convention which met at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Among the delegates were Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, and other able statesmen. "Never in the history of assemblies," Beard says, "has there been a convention of men richer in political experience and in practical knowledge, or endowed with a profounder insight into the springs of human action and the intimate essence of government." No later American body, at any rate, has included so many able men.

In general, the delegates were working not for democracy but for strong government. The most influential men at the convention were afraid of popular rule. They foresaw that in the future fewer people would own real prop-

erty, and in general they favored property qualifications for voting and holding public office. But since no agreement could be reached about the terms of these qualifications, the whole matter was left to the discretion of the states.

Madison and Hamilton believed that the people are naturally unequal and that the rights of minorities must be secured by means of a system of checks and balances. It was doubtful just how far the delegates could go under their instructions, but finally they determined to proceed to the formation of a new fundamental plan of government. They agreed that the constitution should go into effect whenever it should be approved by nine of the states. Sittings of the convention were private, in order to eliminate the power of public opinion. It soon became evident that the greater part of the delegates favored a supreme national government rather than a loose federation.

It was found that there were many conflicts of interest, as between the small and the large states, the slave and the non-slave states, those who favored strong government and those who desired a democratic confederacy. The constitution as it was finally adopted represents the result of many compromises. The President was to be elected indirectly, the judges were to sit for life, and all legislation had to be approved by two houses and usually by the President as well (though his veto power was not made absolute) before it could go into force. A great many governmental powers were left to the individual states, and the small states

secured equal representation with the large ones in the Senate.

By June, 1788, the constitution was approved by nine states, not by their legislatures but by conventions elected especially for the purpose of considering it. Steps were immediately taken to put it into effect. It was not long before the remaining states accepted it. The electors were unanimous in choosing George Washington to be the first President. The various governmental agencies of the United States were soon formed.

Congress immediately took up the problem of regulating commerce. A tariff act was passed in 1789, discriminating in favor of goods brought in by American-owned ships. Commercial treaties were formed with various European nations. An excise tax upon liquor proved unpopular, and it was necessary to put down an uprising in western Pennsylvania with a show of force. Owing to Hamilton's influence, the United States paid the war debts, including those incurred by the states, and issued new bonds.

About Hamilton was formed the Federalist Party, while the persons who favored equality joined Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party. When the French Revolution broke out, Jefferson's followers sympathized with the struggle for liberty and equality. Genet, representing the new democratic France, hoped to ally the United States with his republic. But Washington supported the Federalists, who had no sympathy for the program of the French Revolution, and the United States remained

neutral. There were various disputes with England, but these were patched up. Washington served as President for two terms, and his refusal to accept a third seems to have created a powerful tradition forbidding any man to hold the office for more than eight years.

A Federalist, John Adams, became the second President when he defeated Thomas Jefferson in a close contest. He found it exceedingly difficult to maintain American neutrality in the Anglo-French war. France was inclined to be insulting when it became evident that the United States was not to aid the new republic. Napoleon's assumption of power brought about friendly relations between the two countries, however.

The Federalist congress passed laws which were directed against democratic freedom of speech, and the legislature of Virginia and the new state of Kentucky declared that these measures were unconstitutional. Although the matter was finally settled by force, more than half a century later, the constitutional lawyers gradually were won over to the view that only the federal Supreme Court has the right to pass on the constitutionality of measures passed by Congress. But the Alien and Sedition Acts caused the defeat of the Federalist Party in 1800 and, later, its dissolution.

The western settlers were much inconvenienced by the fact that the Louisiana region lay under foreign control, that of Spain until 1801 and then that of France. Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican President, was much

concerned over Napoleon's plan to found an American empire, but finally the Emperor, needing money and men in Europe, agreed to sell the Louisiana territory, embracing the western half of the Mississippi valley, to the United States for \$15,000,000. Presently the American flag was raised over New Orleans, and American explorers were sent up the Missouri River into vast uncharted districts. Pike explored the southern Rocky Mountain territory. John Jacob Astor established a fur trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River, on the Pacific, but withdrew when the British claimed the region as their own.

Warfare between France and England continued with brief intermissions, and American foreign trade suffered greatly as a result of various commercial restrictions made by the opposing powers. They had little respect for the United States. The British even impressed American sailors into their navy. Some of them were actually British subjects, but others were not. A British warship stopped an American naval vessel and demanded the right of searching it for deserters. Four men were actually carried off, since the American ship was not ready for battle. Congress passed an act forbidding all foreign trade, later modified to permit trade with all countries except France and England. The effect was to injure American commerce, not to gain respect from the belligerents. All attempts to come to terms peacefully with England and France failed. Instead, outrage followed outrage from both sides.

After much opposition, a bill was passed in

June, 1812, declaring war against England. Perhaps matters might have been settled without hostilities had transatlantic communications then been more rapid. The war very nearly ruined American merchants and ship-owners. Many merchantmen were fitted out as privateers, and over 1300 British vessels were captured. In the naval battles, American ships acquitted themselves pretty well. The attempts to capture Canada ended in failure, however. After the fall of Napoleon, England sent great armies into the United States, and Washington was captured and burnt. Andrew Jackson won a considerable victory over the British at New Orleans, but it was futile, for a treaty of peace had already been signed. Although the United States seemed to gain but little by the Treaty of Ghent, it won a certain international prestige; and the right of impressment was tacitly dropped.

The shipping interests experienced a great deal of prosperity in the two years after the declaration of peace, but then the foreign commerce and tonnage of the United States began to drop. The protective tariff of 1816 discouraged importation and there was a business crisis in 1819. Despite several reciprocal free trade agreements with European countries, tonnage in proportion to population steadily declined. For a while the American clipper ships prospered, but the shipping interests were seriously injured by the tariff of 1828. The reciprocity policy led to increasing exports of cotton, and the planters are said to have made fifty per cent on their investments when prices were high. The war led to the

ruin of many New England fishermen, who lost certain privileges. When these were partially restored in 1818, the fisheries regained a little of their old importance. Manufactures, however, were stimulated, and the British saw the United States as a new industrial rival. Congress passed the first real protective tariff in 1816, and the duties were made still higher in 1828. Opposition to the high tariffs came chiefly from the South, where little manufacturing was being carried on.

EXPANSION AND CONFLICT

By a treaty of 1818, a western boundary dispute with Great Britain was settled. The Oregon region, however, was temporarily to be occupied jointly by British and American settlers. In the next year, Florida was purchased from Spain. The Spanish provinces in America were winning their independence, and Spain sought European aid to subdue them. President Monroe, in a message to Congress in December, 1823, declared "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." This attitude, chiefly because it was indorsed by Great Britain, was respected by the Continental states. We cannot fully trace here the development of the Monroe Doctrine, until now it has come to imply the definite hegemony of the United States among the free countries (nominally or in fact) of the western hemisphere.

The tariff of 1832 nearly caused a split between the northern and the southern states, South Carolina declaring the law void within the state. A compromise tariff, the next year, provided for a gradual reduction in protective duties.

After the War of 1812, there was a rush of immigration into the Mississippi valley. There were several new roads, and traveling was possible in coaches and wagons as well as in boats. Meanwhile the eastern cities were rapidly growing in population, largely because of tremendous increases in manufacturing. The South was committed to agriculture with slave labor, and in that part of the country there was comparatively little agitation for the abolition of slavery after the war.

A system of canals was built, of which the most important was probably the Erie Canal (constructed between 1817 and 1825), which caused New York to become the most populous and most important city of the country. Then came steam railroads, gradually extended to bring the whole country together. Steamships revolutionized international communications, and brought great changes also in coastal and lake traffic.

The question of money and credits gave much trouble in the 1820's and 1830's. The people along the western frontiers wanted cheap money at all costs. Meanwhile the discovery of new gold mines gave silver a greater value smelted down than it possessed under the bi-metallic system. Consequently there was a scarcity of money, made worse by an orgy of

speculation. Many irresponsible banks issued currency which they could not possibly redeem. The crash came in 1837, and the whole country suffered for several years thereafter.

But presently there were new industrial developments in the United States, greater than ever. The wealth of the country quadrupled between 1837 and 1857. Population increased a great deal, especially in the North, and largely because of immigration from Europe. In the South, the number of colored slaves went up steadily. Although the importation of slaves was forbidden after 1808 by a provision in the Constitution, many were smuggled in. The production of cotton increased enormously, from about 900,000 bales in 1834 to about 5,400,000 in 1860. Some of the planters carried their slaves into Texas, which was, in 1835, declared an independent state.

When Texas applied for admission into the Union, the strength of the rising antislavery movement in the North became evident. Besides, Mexico had not yet given up her claim to Texas. For a while, nothing was done about annexation. The Oregon question, too, remained open.

Polk, who defeated Henry Clay for the presidency in 1844, was committed to the annexation of Texas and of the whole Oregon region. But he finally allowed Great Britain to take what is now British Columbia, securing full possession by the United States of the lands to the south, the present Washington, Oregon and Idaho.

Polk tried to purchase upper California from Mexico, but negotiations failed. The people of

the South were eager for war, but the Northerners, more especially the abolitionists, were very much opposed to it. Polk was sympathetic to the slave-holding interests, and he deliberately provoked war. Fighting began in May, 1846, and it lasted for little over a year. There was little effective opposition to the advance of the armies of the United States into Mexico.

Perhaps the whole country might have been annexed, but better terms were offered. The Rio Grande was fixed as the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, but the latter country received something over \$15,000,000 for its rights to the disputed territory. The regions of California and New Mexico went to the United States, the New Mexico territory later being enlarged upon payment of \$10,000,000 more. Except for Alaska, the continental boundaries of the United States became practically what they are now.

Very soon after the United States annexed California, gold was discovered in the territory. As soon as the news became known, there was a rush of adventurers, not merely from the eastern part of the United States but also from Europe and even Asia. Soon the surface diggings approached exhaustion, but many of the new settlers remained and turned to agriculture. Utah was settled by members of a queer new religion, the Mormons or Latter-Day Saints. Many immigrants came into Oregon in the 1840's and 1850's. Few slaves were brought into these western territories. Presently express routes and railroads across the continent came into being.

In 1842, the Whigs secured control of Congress and established new protective duties. But the Democrats won in 1844, and a lower tariff was enacted in 1846, more satisfactory to the agricultural interests. The rates were still further reduced in 1857. The iron and cotton manufacturers flourished nevertheless. American machinery was greatly improved during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, both for manufacturing and for farming. With both the United States and Great Britain maintaining something like free trade, the shipping interests flourished. In general prosperity prevailed until a new period of speculation brought on the panic of 1857. The depression was not, to be sure, so great as that of twenty years before. It was chiefly a financial crisis.

After the Mexican War, it became evident that the South was almost unanimously in favor of slavery, except in some of the mountainous regions. In the North, on the other hand, opposition to slavery grew steadily. The humanitarian and democratic ideas of Jefferson and various other leaders were invoked against involuntary servitude. The free workmen of the North, who were beginning to form unions and other organizations, also were coming to the conclusion that slavery was harmful to their interests. A Free-Soil party, formed in 1848, declared in favor of "free speech, free labor, and free men." The question as to whether or not slavery should be extended into the new territories became an acute one.

By Clay's compromise, which became law in 1850, California was made a free state, New Mexico and Utah were left to decide for themselves the question of slavery, the slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, and the return of slaves who had fled into free territory was simplified. Thus secession was postponed temporarily. The Fugitive Slave Act, which brought the slave-owning power into the northern states, proved especially unpopular there, strengthening the abolitionistic agitation.

Kansas and Nebraska had been considered free soil; but in 1854 a bill urged by Stephen A. Douglas, which left it to the inhabitants to decide whether the states should come into the Union forbidding or permitting the ownership of slaves, was passed. Slavery men from Missouri and abolitionists, largely from New England, poured into Kansas. Presently there were two rival governments, one favoring and one opposing slavery, in Kansas. Feeling was tense, and it was reflected even by blows in Congress.

As a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the free-soilers formed a new Republican Party. The first presidential candidate of the party, Fremont, was defeated in 1856. Very soon after, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case, decided that Congress had no right to forbid slavery in the territories. Northern antislavery sentiment was still further aroused. Abraham Lincoln came into prominence as an abolitionist leader in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas, against whom he ran unsuccessfully for a United States sena-

torship from Illinois. John Brown, a fanatical opponent of slavery, made a mad attempt to organize a slave revolt. And again the feeling on both sides was heightened.

In 1860, the Democratic Party split over the question of extending slavery into the territories. As a result, Lincoln, the Republican candidate for President, was elected. A convention was quickly called in South Carolina for the purpose of seceding from the Union. As an abstract matter of law, it appears that the state was within its right in leaving the Union by just such a process as the one by which it had entered it. Some of the influential men in the North agreed with this doctrine. But after Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas had also seceded and the new President had declared that no state, "upon its own mere motion, can get out of the Union," it was seen that war was inevitable. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas then seceded and joined the Confederate States. The border states remained within the Union, but many of their citizens joined the Confederate armies. Although the split came over the question of slavery, the South had often found itself with interests opposed to those of the North. Tariff issues had previously caused the threat of secession to arise.

The North contained a population of about nineteen million free persons, while the South had four million slaves and eight million free persons. Moreover, the northern states had far more diversified industries and greater resources of all sorts. Nevertheless the Civil War

was bitterly contested, and it lasted for five years. The Confederacy issued notes and currency secured by an export tax on cotton. Unfortunately for its financial stability, the coast was soon blockaded and the exportation of cotton made extremely difficult. Confederate money decreased steadily in value. Even on the Union side, the paper currency depreciated greatly in worth.

England had many reasons to favor the Confederate cause, but humanitarian ideas brought about her neutrality. Thus the Union fleet was able to blockade the South and to cause its slow starvation. The first important military campaigns were directed against Richmond, which had become the Confederate capital. Success was divided at first, for apparently the Confederacy had the better soldiers. It seemed at times that Washington was more in danger than Richmond. One general after another was sent to command the Union troops in Virginia. Meanwhile other Union armies were attempting to gain control of the Mississippi River and thus split up the Confederacy. Grant captured 15,000 Confederate men at Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, thus winning the first great Union victory. Farragut ran past the forts below New Orleans and destroyed the Confederate gunboats in the Mississippi. New Orleans itself was soon taken. In July, 1863, Grant captured Vicksburg, the last important Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi. Meanwhile Lee's army had swept into Maryland and Pennsylvania, but it was repulsed at Gettysburg and retreated in good order into Virginia.

Grant drove the Confederates out of Tennessee and then left the western armies to Sherman while he took command in Virginia. Sherman took Atlanta, where he destroyed the factories, then marched to Savannah and north into the Carolinas, laying waste a great strip of land. Before he could join Grant in Virginia, Lee had surrendered his army at Appomattox Court House (April, 1865), and the war was practically over. Probably Lee was a better commander than Grant, but he had only half as many men and he was unable to secure adequate supplies.

In the North, industrial progress continued during the Civil War. In some respects it was even stimulated by it. Mining and digging for oil increased rapidly. Manufactures thrived. But the mercantile marine was greatly damaged by a few Confederate naval vessels. With the decline of the wooden ship, the United States lost its special advantages in shipbuilding.

Laws passed in 1863 and 1864 established a national banking system and taxed the state bank notes out of existence. But the national bank notes, together with the treasury notes or greenbacks, remained for a time under par. To remedy this situation, new loans were floated and some of the greenbacks were withdrawn from circulation. As a result, prices went down. This was satisfactory to the creditor class in the East, but not to the western speculators. The Democratic party, favoring an increased circulation of greenbacks, was defeated in 1868 by the Republicans, who had a powerful candidate in General Grant. *

At the beginning of 1863, Lincoln had proclaimed the freedom of all slaves in all states and parts of states then "in rebellion against the United States." The Emancipation Proclamation was largely a military measure, but it also reflected Lincoln's own sympathies. During 1865, the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution forbade slavery in the United States and its territories. Lincoln saw himself forced in 1864 to run on a coalition ticket. His new Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, was a Tennessee Democrat. When Lincoln was assassinated, in April, 1865, Johnson became President. But he was somewhat untactful, and soon he came into conflict with Congress regarding the reconstruction of the South. The leaders in Congress wanted the southern states to be punished for their rebellion, and certainly they did not want the Republican majority to be overthrown by Democratic rebels. Johnson made himself still more unpopular when he vetoed the Civil Rights Bill, intended to provide for the interests of the former slaves, and the Reconstruction Acts, forcing the southern states to grant the franchise to the negroes. Even an amendment to the Constitution has not been able to secure the vote to the colored citizens of the South. The Tenure of Office Act, passed over Johnson's veto, forbade the President to remove officials without the consent of the Senate. President Johnson asserted that the law was unconstitutional and he removed Stanton, the secretary of war, from office. Thereupon Johnson was impeached, but a single vote saved him from conviction (a two-thirds vote being required).

The South after the war found itself greatly impoverished. The property in slaves was destroyed, and the free negroes proved to be unwilling workers for the most part. It took some time before they became accustomed to their independence. Gradually a system of renting small farms to the negroes grew up, and after a time many of them began to purchase their own land. It was somewhat later before the great migrations to the North took place. At present, the northern negroes are considered more intelligent than those in the South. In part the condition is due to better educational facilities, in part to the fact that it is the less enterprising elements that stay at home. We cannot, in this brief outline, fully consider the history of the freedmen and their descendants. Although the racial prejudice which used to be considered southern has recently manifested itself in the northern states also, I think we can reasonably say that the opportunities open to the colored man and his ability to take advantage of them are both increasing.

The enfranchisement of the negro seemed in the North the only way to guarantee the loyalty of the states which had seceded. Nevertheless the individual states have been left to settle the matter for themselves. As a matter of fact, there now seems to be little doubt about the fidelity of the South, even though the colored people have been virtually disfranchised.

In general, the methods taken for the reconstruction of the South were of doubtful legality. There was a great deal of exploitation of the

southern states by unscrupulous politicians. The Ku Klux Klan was organized to frighten the negroes into giving up some of their new privileges, and it did much to restore white home rule. Soon a Democratic "solid South" appeared.

Grant proved to be one of the most unfit Presidents that the United States had had. But Charles Francis Adams, whom he sent to negotiate with Great Britain, satisfactorily settled a number of troublesome disputes. A split in the ranks of the Republican party enabled Grant to win a second term with ease. Both on the Democratic and the Republican side, second-rate men drifted into political control.

A Homestead Bill, finally passed in 1862, allowed settlers to obtain public land without cost. This had the effect of raising wages in the East as well as of bringing many new farmers into the West. Congress also gave aid to the builders of the first transcontinental railroad, which was in operation in its entirety by 1869. There was great prosperity for a time and much speculation, checked by the crisis of 1873. There were over five thousand bankruptcies in that year, and the number increased until there were over ten thousand in 1878. Millions of workmen lost their employment. The labor movement prospered greatly after the Civil War. Several organizations of farmers were formed, of which the most important were the Granges.

In the South, many of the great plantations were broken up into small farms, which went to the poor whites as well as to the former

slaves. By 1900, the size of the average farm was considerably less than half what it had been in 1860. Soon there was an adequate adjustment to the new conditions. Cotton mills arose in large numbers in the South, and various other enterprises aided in changing the industrial complexion of the region.

In 1876, the Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York as a reform candidate for President. He received a popular plurality over Hayes, the Republican candidate, and probably a majority of the electoral vote as well. There were a great many frauds, and an Electoral Commission finally decided in favor of Hayes in all the disputed districts, making possible his inauguration. Hayes caused the troops to be withdrawn from the South. His administration is notable for the first serious attempt at civil service reform. Meanwhile the agitation for an increase in the circulation of greenbacks continued. During the 1870's, new mines were opened and the price of silver fell. There was a demand for the resumption of silver coinage, which had been dropped in 1873, both on the part of the mine-owners and on that of the inflationists (the debtor class). The Bland-Allison Act of 1878 required the Treasury to purchase a large amount of silver bullion each month. At the beginning of the next year, specie payment was resumed and the paper money of the United States was established on an equal basis with gold. With resumption, although not altogether as a result of it, came general national prosperity. But presently production became greater than consumption, and

prices began to fall. There was a demand for tariff adjustment, so that the excess could be more rapidly exported. There were also calls for a larger supply of money, for a single tax upon land, and for the restriction of immigration.

Garfield was elected President in 1880, chiefly on the tariff issue. The assassination of Garfield brought out the need for political reforms, especially in the civil service. Whether or not he was in any way responsible for the "Star Route" mail contract frauds in the West is not entirely clear.

A Democrat, Grover Cleveland of New York, was elected President in 1884. He was defeated by Benjamin Harrison in 1888, but won over him in 1892. The tariff of 1883 reduced the high customs rates somewhat, and it was passed chiefly because of an excess of funds in the national treasury. The parties were not making an issue of the tariff question, since there were protectionists and advocates of a tariff for revenue only on both sides.

The Knights of Labor, an organization including workmen of all trades and at first secret, was founded in 1869. But several violent strikes turned popular opinion against the Knights, and the American Federation of Labor, organized in 1882, gradually became the most important body of workingmen. Respect for the labor vote brought about several restrictions on immigration and a wide variety of economic legislation.

Grover Cleveland did much for the reform of the civil service, largely increasing the number of government employees in the classified

lists. When he vetoed a pension bill in 1887, he made many enemies. It was passed during Harrison's term of office. Cleveland made the tariff a party issue by his message to Congress in 1887, but he was unable to bring about a reduction in rates, for the Senate was Republican.

In 1870, there were some 50,000 miles of railroad in the United States. By 1890, there were over three times as many. The region west of the Missouri was netted with lines. The continental lines did much to encourage immigration and settlement, especially upon the lands which had been granted them by way of subsidy. New western states were rapidly created. The frontier disappeared, and agriculture increased in importance in the West. Most of the good agricultural lands of the United States were privately owned before the end of the century. No longer was it possible for the discontented and penniless artisan to secure a valuable farm without payment. The free lands more recently available have, in general, been productive of crops only after irrigation, drainage, or other special care. There was much agitation about the fraudulent occupation of great land grants by railroads and other corporations, and some of the lands were recovered by the government in the 1880's.

Regulation of the great railroad systems by the individual states proved unsatisfactory, and the Interstate Commerce Law, providing for federal control, was enacted in 1887. The law did away with some of the special freight rebates which the large corporations had en-

joyed. But, on the whole, it had little immediate effect.

Increased facilities for communication tended to bring about a certain uniformity throughout the nation. They aided also in the forming of great companies which drove out some of the smaller businesses. The trust—properly speaking, the control of several concerns which were formerly competitive by a group of trustees—arose. But popular usage soon applied the term to any great business, especially one tending toward monopoly. Rockefeller's oil combination was one of the first to arouse considerable public attention. The Whiskey Trust and the Sugar Trust were formed in 1887. The attacks on trusts by individual states had comparatively little success. It appeared to many persons that the high tariff rates were encouraging monopoly, but the "full dinner pail" argument, the supposed dependence of good wages upon protective duties, was urged against it. A large number of Democrats who favored the high tariff left the party in 1888, when Cleveland was defeated by Harrison. The first federal law against the trusts, the Sherman Act, was passed in 1890. It declared illegal combinations and contracts restraining interstate and foreign commerce. The crisis of 1893 temporarily checked the growth of trusts, and for a time there was little attempt to apply the Sherman Act.

The McKinley Act of 1890 raised the tariff rates and granted a bounty on raw sugar, thus reducing the revenue. But protection did little for the farmer. Dissatisfaction grew in the

agricultural districts. The new West was largely settled by farmers to whom the agricultural methods there necessary were unfamiliar. They called for governmental assistance, especially through the cheapening of the dollar. They and those interested in the mines called repeatedly for the free circulation of silver. The Farmers' Alliance, a confederation of agricultural clubs, formed one of the nuclei about which the People's Party was formed in 1890. The Populists soon proved strong enough to send a United States Senator from Kansas. In the House of Representatives chosen in 1896, the agricultural group was distinctly in control. But the high tariff Republicans retained a majority in the Senate and made Populist legislation impossible. The South was bound largely to single cropping, especially to the exclusive cultivation of cotton, and suffered greatly when the crop brought low prices. In spite of race problems which could not be solved merely by keeping the negro from voting, the South developed with great rapidity after 1880. Railroads were built, the output of coal and iron increased, many factories were established.

The People's Party, made up largely of farmers and workmen, demanded free silver circulation at the ratio of sixteen to one to gold, government ownership of means of transportation, an eight hour day, and various other reforms. It could not stand alone very well, and it tended to combine locally with one of the larger two parties. In the presidential election of 1892, however, it carried four states.

Creditors opposed the establishment of the

silver basis because it would diminish the value of the dollar. Cleveland attacked the Sherman Act of 1890, which provided that the United States should purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month. The Sherman Act was repealed in 1893, but Cleveland's attitude once more split up his party. In opposing the Wilson tariff of 1894, the President made still more enemies. Meanwhile the laboring men were showing their discontent. Coxie led a march of the "Army of the Unemployed" to Washington. There was a great Pullman strike, in which Cleveland and the federal courts made themselves unpopular with organized labor.

SOME RECENT PROBLEMS

Late in 1895, the United States asserted an interest in a boundary dispute which had gone on for some time between Venezuela and Great Britain. Cleveland asked Congress to permit an American court to ascertain the line between Venezuela and British Guiana and to maintain it against any British claim. Finally Great Britain, by submitting the matter to arbitration, admitted the application of the Monroe Doctrine which Cleveland made. But this triumph did little for the Democratic Party, split up by the tariff and silver issues.

William McKinley, ably supported by Marcus Alonzo Hanna, stood out as the logical candidate of the Republican Party. He was nominated upon a platform that called for an international agreement in favor of bimetallism but denounced the debasement of the currency. A

majority of the Democratic delegates were pledged to vote for free silver. William Jennings Bryan, who had been comparatively unknown, made an eloquent speech for the free coinage of silver which gained the nomination for him. The People's Party indorsed Bryan and practically passed out of existence. McKinley, who had previously spoken in favor of national bimetallism, found himself forced to indorse the gold standard and to defend it as well as he knew how. The conservative leaders inaugurated a great educational campaign, denouncing the Democratic demand for free silver as little better than anarchistic. After a tense campaign, McKinley was elected. The good crops of 1895 and 1896 did much to diminish agricultural discontent and thus to lessen the intensity of the desire for free silver.

The defeat of Bryan encouraged the manufacturers and the financial interests, and a new period of prosperity began. The discovery of gold in Alaska—purchased from Russia by the United States in 1867—and in the Yukon caused prices to rise, and thus drowned out the demand for the circulation of silver.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, some of the flagrant abuses in politics were mitigated. The introduction of the Australian ballot reduced bribery. The spread of the civil service system tended to reduce the use of public office for the reward of party workers. Robert La Follette worked vigorously for the introduction of direct primaries for the nomination of candidates. These have not, to be

"boss." The initiative, the referendum, and the recall were introduced in some of the western states. Wyoming introduced votes for women when it was admitted to the Union in 1890.

"Intellectual, spiritual, economic, and political revolt were common in America in 1890," remarks Professor Paxson, and indeed there has been much radicalism of all these kinds ever since, although in constantly changing form. But conservatism has generally been in the saddle since then. To be sure, present conservatism may be the same as the radicalism of yesterday. Whitman and Modernism are respectable now, except in the backwoods. But we have become somewhat skeptical of the old panaceas; for the original thinkers of our time are beginning to see that democracy itself is impossible, and that the introduction of measures intended to take power away from the politicians or the temporary downfall of a few dishonest leaders cannot make the system perfect. While there is much pride over the extension of education, more and more people are coming to see that there are few truly educated men and women in the United States.

The new imperialism of the United States was clearly manifested in the war against Spain. The island of Cuba had for a long time been desired by certain American interests in order that the slave trade or the sugar industry might be extended. When the Cubans revolted against tyrannical Spanish rule in 1895, much sympathy was expressed and much aid given by Americans. The contest was waged

bitterly on both sides, but the American newspapers exaggerated the Spanish cruelties and cried out for intervention. Some of the publishers had axes of their own to grind. It was difficult for the United States to maintain a strict neutrality. In February, 1898, an American warship, the *Maine*, was suddenly blown up in the harbor of Havana. The yellow journals proclaimed that this had been done deliberately by the Spanish. A clamor for war arose. Perhaps McKinley could have avoided hostilities, but he did not. Congress declared Cuba independent, and the war began, in April, 1898.

The United States was far better equipped for war than Spain was. The preparedness of the navy, indeed, was far greater than that of the army. The Philippines offered little resistance to Dewey's fleet. The American volunteers in the army were not particularly well trained or led, but fortunately the Spanish troops were also inefficient. The United States was successful in military and naval battles at Santiago de Cuba, and the war was over.

Cuba was given nominal independence, under the control of the United States. Porto Rico, the Philippines, and the island of Guam became American possessions. The Hawaiian Islands, which had gradually been occupied by Americans, were annexed to the United States shortly after the end of the Spanish-American War.

The war made clear that there was a great deal of incompetency in the army, the navy, and in public life. It turned the spotlight on a new popular hero, Theodore Roosevelt. He had already made something of a name for himself as

a reformer. Before the war, his work as Assistant Secretary of the Navy had contributed to the efficiency of the fleet. His part as a military leader was small, but Roosevelt knew how to make the most of the Rough Rider's uniform. He became Governor of New York in 1898.

In 1900, the Republicans passed a new currency measure, establishing the gold dollar as the standard of value and making certain modifications in the rules for the issuance of national bank notes. But the panic of 1907 emphasized the inadequacies in the whole national banking system. It was confined largely to rich men, and did little to disturb the prosperity of the country. Investors in corporation securities lost heavily, however. The Federal Reserve Bank Act, passed in 1913, made for the decentralization and the better control of banking and the issuance of currency.

The United States was confronted with a Philippine revolt in 1899 and 1900, and the Democratic Party, traditionally upholding Jeffersonian ideas about liberty and equality, began to attack imperialism. Bryan, again the candidate for President in 1900, also continued his demand for free silver. McKinley was nominated by the Republicans for a second term, and Theodore Roosevelt was his running mate. When McKinley, shortly after his reelection, was killed by an anarchist, Roosevelt became President. He was inclined to take over the control of affairs himself, and he possessed, to a far greater extent than McKinley, the qualities of leadership.

Many problems of imperialism appeared. The American army withdrew from Cuba after having improved sanitary conditions there. Roosevelt wished to introduce commercial reciprocity with Cuba, but the American growers of sugar objected, and Cuban reciprocity was adopted only in a modified form. The United States assumed responsibility for the collection of the Venezuelan debt to a number of European countries in order to prevent the use of force on the American continent by Great Britain and Germany. The issues involved were laid before the international court at The Hague, which had been established in 1899 under the influence of the Czar of Russia. The boundary line between Alaska and Canada was settled by an arbitration committee sitting in London, 1903. American diplomacy had already gained a new importance in Hay's work for "an open door" in China. There appeared to be a choice only between individual foreign concessions and free leeway for international exploitation. More recent developments in China indicate that its people are tired of the methods pursued by the "foreign devils." If China becomes a militaristic menace to white supremacy, as some prophesy, the fault will be that of the Caucasian nations. The Boxer uprising must not be considered an isolated outbreak. It is true that the Chinese—like the Japanese before them—are learning to make use of Occidental machinery and methods, and that the religious conservatism is definitely breaking up. The United States, when it offered part of the Boxer indemnities for the education of Chinese

students in America, contributed to the new movement.

The demand for the construction of an isthmian canal, which had arisen long before, was greatly stimulated by the war with Spain and the increased importance of the Pacific Ocean to the United States. Great Britain, after a little hesitation, agreed to let the United States build a canal, fortified or not, through Panama. De Lesseps's French company had by this time given up its work there. It was not decided, until 1903, whether the canal should go through Nicaragua or through Panama, in Colombia. When the latter route had been fixed upon and arrangements made for the purchase of the concessions held by the French company, Colombia refused to transfer the privileges to the United States. Thereupon the people of Panama—assured of the support of the United States—declared themselves independent of Colombia and quickly negotiated a canal treaty. Work was soon started, and the canal was opened to traffic formally in 1915. Even aside from military considerations, the canal has amply justified the great sums expended upon it. As I write, other great canal projects are being discussed.

Roosevelt's name is linked with a number of irrigation and reclamation projects. These tended to increase his popularity in the West. But he won the dislike of the professional politicians by his domineering tactics. Nevertheless he was nominated in 1904 without any real opposition and then elected easily over Parker. The latter declared that he believed

in the gold standard. Free silver became a dead issue.

At about the beginning of the new century, the automobile industry arose. Moving pictures were successfully projected in theaters. There were a great many improvements, some changes which were perhaps not improvements, and a great many different forms of expansion and speculation. Railroad control was largely concentrated in the hands of a few great financiers. In 1902, Roosevelt caused a suit to be brought under the Sherman Act of 1890 against the Northern Securities Company, which controlled the Hill and Morgan railroads. This was brought to a successful end in 1904. A series of new laws enlarged the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission to include means of interstate communication other than railroads and gave it the power to regulate rates.

A number of great trusts were organized between 1897 and 1902, among them the United States Steel Corporation. In 1898, Congress established an Industrial Commission. Several court actions established the power of the government to break up (at least nominally) the great monopolies. Meanwhile the strength of the labor unions was rapidly increasing. Yet they proved unsuccessful in most of their conflicts with the trusts. Roosevelt gained additional popularity when he settled an anthracite coal strike by persuading the operators and the labor leaders to submit the matters in dispute to arbitration. A Colorado mining strike of 1903 ended when a Cripple Creek "vigilance

committee" forced Haywood and other strike agitators to leave the state. Thus was begun a method of settling industrial disputes which has several times since been applied, especially with regard to the leaders of the syndicalistic Industrial Workers of the World. The Socialist Party grew immensely between 1900 and 1904, Debs receiving less than 100,000 votes the first time he ran for President and over 400,000 votes the second time.

The Dingley tariff, of 1897, imposed very high rates on a number of commodities, and soon it was said to be the mother of trusts. The prices of essential articles were nearly fifty per cent higher in 1908 than they had been in 1896. The law of 1897 remained in effect, despite many protests, until 1909. Then the Payne-Aldrich bill, due especially to the influence of President Taft, was made to provide for a few reductions in rates. Steps were taken toward a constitutional amendment permitting Congress to levy an income tax. The Underwood tariff of 1913, enacted in a special session called by Wilson in 1913, reduced duties considerably and put a number of commodities on the free list.

During Roosevelt's second administration, there were many investigations of the trusts and the dishonest politicians. Some of the successful sensation-mongers were elected to high office. Hearst was the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York in 1906, but he was defeated by Hughes, who had shown that the insurance companies were meddling in politics. Laws were passed to regulate campaign con-

tributions. They have not always been religiously observed, to be sure, but it appears that they are, to a certain extent, enforceable.

There were new laws to regulate the interstate commerce in food, to forbid the railroads to issue free passes to legislators, and to control things in general. Americans have long been fond of correcting a variety of evils, real or imaginary, by passing laws. Kipling spoke in 1894 of the "cynic devil" in the blood of the American

That bids him flout the Law he makes,
That bids him make the Law he flouts

Roosevelt helped the Russian and Japanese delegates come together in 1905 to make peace, and the next year he was awarded a Nobel prize. The second Pan-American Conference, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, appeared to bring about friendlier feeling between the United States and the other American countries. It appeared in various ways that the United States had become a world power. And indeed Washington's old plea for isolation was no longer applicable. Even apart from the new imperialism, the steamship and the cable had in effect narrowed the Atlantic and the Pacific.

In 1908, Roosevelt's candidate, William Howard Taft, was elected President over Bryan. A series of disputes among his subordinates did Taft no good. The progressive Republican group formed an organization headed by La Follette and Cummins which frequently worked with the Democrats against the "stand-pat" forces. Taft extended American

influence in Central and South America. He negotiated a reciprocity agreement with Canada, but this was finally rejected by the Canadians when it was represented as an opening wedge for annexation by the United States. Many extensions were made in the civil service.

Roosevelt, returning from the slaughter of lions in Africa, spoke for a wide reform program, and was seen to be the most powerful leader in the progressive Republican group. He finally declared that he was willing to become President for another term. When the Republicans nominated Taft, Roosevelt formed a Progressive Party of his own. Wilson, a progressive Democrat who had been a college professor and president, then Governor of New Jersey, received the nomination of his party and defeated the divided Republicans. Debs received close to 900,000 votes as the Socialist candidate.

Wilson proved to be a believer in personal rule. He appeared before Congress himself to deliver his messages. He secured the enactment of measures which strengthened the anti-trust laws. He secured a revision of the Panama Canal rates, eliminating a preference in rates given to American vessels which violated a treaty with Great Britain. There was trouble with Mexico, and Vera Cruz was occupied in 1914 and held for a short period. Presently the Mexican problem disappeared for Wilson, but it came up again in the Coolidge administration. The American capitalists who have interests in Mexico want special privileges there, and they will not be content, as it now

appears, until the whole of Mexico is annexed to the United States.

The war which broke out in Europe in 1914 was of interest to Americans in a variety of ways, but the sentiment of the nation was at first distinctly in favor of neutrality. There were sympathizers with Germany just as there were many who wished well to the Allies. Presently both sides were devoting considerable attention to the work of propaganda in the United States. The Allies did a better job of it: soon kind-hearted Americans were weeping over the violated virgins and the bloody grandmothers of Belgium. But for a time the American conflict was between those who shouted for preparedness and those who felt that a neutral country had no need to assemble its military forces.

Both sides of the European combatants chose to violate the rights of neutrals. The German policy of submarine warfare, made necessary by the blockading of the naval ports, was calculated to arouse neutral indignation. But Wilson, in 1916, allowed his friends to praise him with the slogan, "He kept us out of war." He had won popularity among the progressives for a number of laws passed in his administration, including the Federal Farm Loan Act. Roosevelt, who was considered anti-German, was for this reason eliminated as a Republican candidate. Hughes was nominated and defeated by Wilson after a close contest. It appears that Wilson had already made up his mind in favor of American intervention on the side of the Allies. Certainly he had begun prepara-

tions for war. In April, 1917, Congress declared that hostilities existed.

The claim that the United States won the war has been laughed at abroad, but it is not far from the truth. We need not exaggerate the actual accomplishments of the American army and navy, but the readiness of the United States to mobilize all its forces against the Central Powers made it clear that Allied victory was ultimately certain. The idealism of Wilson—sincere, I think, if not altogether wise—made Germany more receptive to the idea of peace, even on hard terms.

As a result of the war, the United States felt free to enlarge its influence in Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Honduras, and especially in Nicaragua, where it is likely that a new canal will presently be built. The disarmament conference at Washington in 1921 and 1923 brought agreements for limitations on the building of capital naval ships and on the use of submarines and poison gas in warfare. It was not until 1923 that the last of the American troops were withdrawn from Germany. Soon it became apparent that the United States was not to enter the Wilsonian League of Nations. Now it seems that America will not even join the World Court, for the Senate reservations of 1926 are unacceptable to the members. After much argument about the war debts owing to the United States by the Allies, settlements have been agreed on by which Great Britain will pay about four-fifths, France about half, Italy about a quarter, and

the other countries varying proportions of the sums lent and interest.

During Harding's administration, a national budget system was inaugurated. There were a number of scandals about oil lands, involving some high governmental officials. These remained unsettled to embarrass Coolidge when he became President after Harding's death.

Readjustment to conditions of peace involved a number of difficulties. For a time the cost of living was very high. The returned soldiers received bonuses in a number of states and made demands upon Congress. A bill giving paid-up insurance to the former soldiers was passed in 1924. There were many strikes, notably in the mines, on the part of workers who were reluctant to give up the high wages which had been paid in wartime. The farmers have clamored for governmental aid, on the ground that the protective tariff is in effect a subsidy to the manufacturers and to organized labor. There were special railroad problems, due to the fact that the railroads had been nationalized for war purposes. The narrow patriotism aroused by the war seemed to carry with it religious intolerance, manifested strongly in the opposition to "Al" Smith in the Democratic national convention of 1925 and in the recrudescence of the Ku Klux Klan, as also to a certain extent enactment (under new constitutional authority) of laws against the traffic in alcoholic liquor.

The national income tax, raised high during the World War, has been reduced by laws be-

ginning in 1921. Coolidge has made much of governmental economy and has carried out the requirements of the Budget Act. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act of 1922 gave the President (informed by a Tariff Commission) the power to alter the customs duties to adjust differences in the cost of producing articles in the United States and elsewhere. The economic theory on which the act is based is ridiculous, and learning the true cost of production presents insuperable difficulties. The Immigration Act of 1924 provides a quota system based on one fiftieth of the number of nationals from each country who were in the United States in 1890. It shows the influence of the labor unions. Meanwhile other special interests are growing, and there are certain indications that the United States is drifting into something like a system of guild socialism. But it is always unsafe to prophesy. This much we can safely say, that our country has departed far from the ideals of the "fathers"—whether we think of the Hamiltonian or the Jeffersonian group. Considering the industrial and cultural changes which have taken place since 1776, we can hardly find the fact surprising.



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